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culturation, we found that there was a greater willingness among the better-to-do and more acculturated families on our list to have one of our staff live with them. Some of the poorer families who expressed willingness to accept a student were unable to do so because of very crowded living conditions. Many of these poorer families were large and lived in a single room.

We were now ready to begin the accumulation of a great variety of information on every family in the village. Each assistant was made responsible for gathering the data in his barrio. In the three smaller barrios, none of which had over forty families, it was possible to get a few informants who knew quite intimately most families in their barrios. In these smaller barrios, for instance, practically any male adult knew quite well who did or did not own land or other property. In the larger barrios no single informant was well acquainted with more than a small percentage of the families, and we therefore had to use many more informants. In effect, we were doing a census in each barrio, with the number of items investigated progressively increasing as our rapport improved, and as we felt free to ask more questions. Among the items of information which we eventually obtained for each family were (1) ownership of property, such as house, land, cattle and other animals, fruit trees, and sewing machines; (2) occupation and sources of income; (3) marital status, number of marriages, barrio of origin or birthplace of each spouse, kinship of all persons then living on the same house site, and other related items; (4) social participation and positions of leadership; (5) educational level and whether or not any of the children had attended school outside the village. These items were obtained on all families and were supplemented by a number of partial surveys on other items. In addition to the information which we obtained ourselves, we also utilized and checked much of the information contained in the census of 1940. We had obtained a special breakdown of the municipio census by individual villages from the Federal Department of Statistics. The information on all these items was checked independently by at least two informants.

Getting accurate data on land-ownership in Tepoztlán was a difficult and delicate matter because of general suspicion of the motives of anyone who undertakes such a study. Our staff worked for many weeks copying the property listing in the local property register for every family in the village. These findings were then compared with the information independently obtained from informants. Many discrepancies were found. The information which we obtained from informants indicated that approximately fifteen of the people who owned land according to our informants were not registered as landowners. On the other hand, we found several cases of land registered in the name of individuals who were not known by our informants to be landowners. By checking all cases in which there was a discrepancy between the data in the register and those of our informants, we believe that we arrived at a reasonably accurate picture of the real situation. In this connection we learned that there was a higher incidence of unregistered land in the outlying villages of the municipio, where such matters are less easily controlled by local authorities.

The question of the size of land plots presented much more difficult problems than the question of land-ownership. Tepoztecans still do not think basically in

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terms of hectares, but rather in terms of the amount of seed needed to plant a plot. Thus a peasant will say he planted so many *cuartillos* of corn or beans, rather than so many hectares or *tareas*. In Tepoztlán the number of *cuartillos* of corn that will cover one hectare varies according to the size of seed and the type of terrain. By and large, however, Tepoztecans consider that ten *cuartillos* of *maíz ancha*, the prevalent type of corn used, make up one hectare in lands used for plow agriculture, which are the only privately owned lands and the only ones we were concerned with. We measured and paced numerous milpas with the aid of the two Mexican agronomists, and found that the quantity of seed for one hectare of land varied between nine and one-half to twelve *cuartillos* of corn. On this basis we accepted the Tepoztecan figure of ten *cuartillos* as reasonably accurate and have used it throughout the study. In checking sample plots for size, we found that the size of plots registered was quite accurate. However, the value of land registered had no relationship to its current value.

With the help of the agronomists, we mapped all the village sites as well as some of the outlying agricultural lands near some of the barrios. On my later visits to the village in 1947 and 1948, I did a study of land types and land use with the assistance of Alberto Beltrán, who drew the maps and aided in surveys. We also carefully examined the municipal records, from which we obtained data on births and deaths over a ten-year period, the number of marriages over an eight-year period, the municipal income and expenditures for a fifteen-year period, and the number and types of court cases from 1926 to 1944.

We would like to say a word about our use of Tepoztecans as assistants. We took advantage of the presence of a number of intelligent and fairly well-educated Tepoztecans in the village by employing them as assistants in many of the surveys. This saved us a great deal of time and effort, and we were able to collect a wider variety of data than would otherwise have been possible. In addition to surveys, we obtained autobiographies, written accounts of experiences during the Revolution, a daily record over a short period of all visitors to the Municipal Palace and the purpose of the visits, written accounts of the local political situation by various political figures in the village, collections of stories, jokes, and sayings, and case histories of quarrels among neighbors and among relatives. We were gratified that several of our Tepoztecan assistants proved to be such helpful and reliable workers.

While we were gathering this information for the village as a whole, each of our student assistants was recording data and observations on the families with which they were living. A long, detailed guide for observing and recording behavioral data and for the writing of life histories was prepared by Ruth Lewis as an aid to the students. Again, we secured the cooperation of the more educated members of families in keeping daily records, in answering special questionnaires, or in writing up special subjects.

The testing program was carried out in the school, and the testing group was made up of fifty children of school age selected from our list of twenty-one representative families. The families represented each of the socio-economic levels and each of the barrios. The psychological tests which we endeavored to give to each child in the testing group were the Rorschach, the Grace-Arthur Performance Scale,

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2 *the village and the world outside:*

823 If we were to ask almost any Tepoztecan adult for his conception of the geography of the world, we would find that it is vague and spotty and limited to only a few countries.[1] He would know that there is a country called the United States which is close to Mexico and whose people are the light-skinned gringos who speak a different language, are Protestants, and manufacture machines. He knows that to the south of Mexico there are other countries like Guatemala which are Spanish speaking and Catholic. He also knows that some place in the world there is Spain, the land from which the *gachupines* came.[2] Many Tepoztecans know that in a distant land there is a city called Rome where the Pope, the "King of the Catholics," lives. Some have heard of Germany and Japan, the countries which were at war with the gringos.

829 In general their knowledge of peoples other than Mexicans is very slight. They think of any stranger who has a light complexion and blue eyes as a gringo or *norteamericano*. A German anthropologist who lived in the village was constantly referred to as a gringo. Tepoztecans have seen some Negroes and Chinese, the latter primarily as peddlers. Tepoztecans do not seem to be aware of nationality [186] differences and simply call most strangers "foreigners"; even light-skinned native-born Mexicans from other states, cities, and towns are included in this classification.

484 Most Tepoztecans have never been beyond the borders of Mexico, but in recent 829 years there have been some exceptions. During the last war about fifteen Tepoztecan men worked as laborers in the United States and all returned to the village. Among [464] this group were some comparatively well-educated men who were able to express their impressions and experiences and did much to impart new information about

[804] [1] Until the middle thirties when the road was built, Tepoztecans thought of distances primarily in terms of the amount of time it took to walk a certain distance. Thus they knew that it took about a day to get to Mexico City, two days to Jojutla. A five-day trip was about the greatest distance they could conceive. Now that most Tepoztecans ride the bus to Cuernavaca, their notions of distance are changing. However, they still do not think in terms of kilometers and find it difficult to conceive of the great distances between their village and the U.S.A. or Europe.

[2] *Gachupin* is a deprecatory term used to designate Spaniards.

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of the remaining ten consists of comb, shears, and scissors, and the barber usually performs in his yard under a *ciruela* tree. Barbering is still an occasional occupation. Even in the center shops there are no fixed hours, and they are normally open only on Sundays and Wednesdays.

Of the fourteen corn merchants in the village, four buy corn on a large scale; the

Fig. 18. Meat display in the market.

others buy up small quantities which they take to Cuernavaca twice a week. Two factors have been responsible for the increase in corn merchants. Most important was the expansion of the land base by the *ejido* grants and the privilege of using the communal *ilacolol* lands. Twenty years ago there was a greater relative number of landless *peones* than today, and the village had to import large quantities of corn for its own consumption. Today the village sells about 1,000 *cargas* of corn out of a total production of about 14,000 *cargas*.[7] The new needs of the people, the higher standard of living, and the sharp rise in prices in the last few years, demand a larger amount of ready cash than formerly and force many families to sell their corn.

Referring again to Table 19, we see that there has also been an increase in the number of *curanderos*, *chirimiteros*, and fireworks makers. These are the specialists which Redfield characterized as the *tontos* in contrast to the *correctos*, who were the storekeepers, merchants, etc. Today no such distinction exists in the village.

[7] One *carga* is about 213 pounds.

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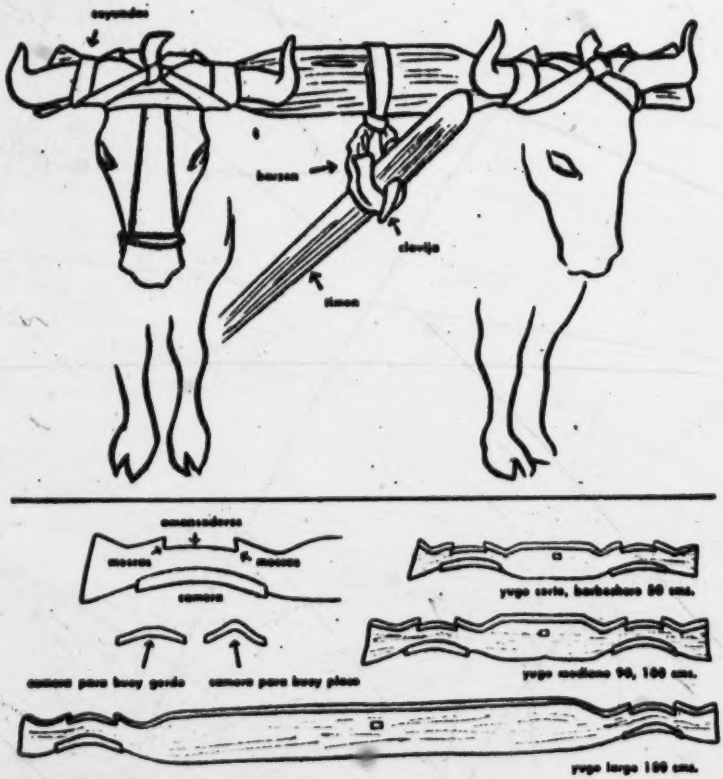

Fig. 26. Oxen and yoke.

[435] [439] The cost of oxen quoted in Table 29 refers to that paid in Guerrero. The cost in Tepoztlán was then considerably higher; today there is relatively little local buying and selling of oxen. For a long time, trips to Guerrero were considered dangerous, and the few who made such trips did so at considerable risk—and profit.

427 492 When oxen are rented for three months, the renter must assume full responsibility and agree to give the animals good care. In case they are injured, the renter must pay full damages. A man who rents oxen enjoys the privilege of using them for custom work. From June to August, it is estimated that a team of oxen will work seventy-eight days. The small variation in rental price, when paid in corn, must be considered in the light of changes in corn prices from 1926 to 1944, an increase from twelve centavos per *cuartillo* [8] to sixty centavos.

[435] [804]

[8] A *cuartillo* is equal to two liters in Tepoztlán.